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Language proficiency and socio-cultural orientation of Turkish and Moroccan youngsters in the Netherlands

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In this study, data and discourses on immigrant minority groups and languages other than Dutch at home and at school are presented in order to contextualise the status of Turkish and Moroccan communities and their languages in the Netherland. Patterns of language use, choice and attitudes of Turkish ($n = 63$) and Moroccan ($n = 64$) youngsters in the Netherlands are documented and discussed. The findings of this study show that pride in one's socio-cultural and linguistic backgrounds is not coupled with maintenance of the community language. Arabic and Berber informants report high attachment to their cultural backgrounds but their actual community language use is very restricted compared to their Dutch language use. They clearly shift to Dutch in most domains of language use. Turkish youngsters, on the other hand, show strong language maintenance patterns and their socio-cultural orientation is congruent with their language behaviour. While Moroccan youngsters identify more strongly with Islamic practices, Turkish youngsters identify strongly with the Turkish language. This, in turn, suggests that strong religious attachment does not affect community language maintenance but a strong identification with the community language does contribute to language maintenance. Apparently, for Turkish youngsters, cultural self-awareness goes hand in hand with linguistic self-awareness.

Keywords: cultural values; language proficiency; Moroccan immigrants; socio-cultural orientation; Turkish immigrants

1. Immigrant minority groups in the Netherlands

With respect to population data on immigrant minority (IM) groups in Europe, Poulain (2008) makes a distinction between nationwide *census* data, municipal *register* data and large- or small-scale *survey* data. Census data on the composition of the population have been collected 14 times in the Netherlands from 1829 to 1971 at irregular intervals. After 1971, the intended census of 1981 was postponed and ultimately cancelled. Since the 1980s, census data have been substituted by municipal register data (Poulain 2008). Data on country of birth, nationality and religious affiliation were included in the census until 1971; nationwide data on (home) language use or ethnicity have never been collected at all. National population statistics can be derived from the internet website (http://statline.cbs.nl/statweb/) of the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), which is also made available in English. The CBS information is gathered and constantly updated from municipal register data, referred to as *Gemeentelijke Basisadministratie* (GBA). All municipal registers in the Netherlands contain data on birth country (of person and parents) and nationality of all municipal residents. Persons who are born abroad (first generation) or at least one of whose parents was born

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abroad (second generation) are referred to as *allochtonen* (autochthonous) in the public, political and statistical discourse, although there is increasing discomfort over the stigmatising character of the bipartition between *autochtonen* and *allochtonen* (allochthonous), which leads to the 'othering' of the latter. A further distinction, made in national (CBS) and municipal (GBA) data and also perceived as stigmatising, is that between Western and non-Western allochtonen. In statistical data, the former also include Indonesians and Japanese. The latter include two large Mediterranean communities originating from Turkey and Morocco, and two large communities from Surinam and the Dutch Antilles, both of them former Dutch colonies. Table 1 gives an overview of recent population figures on the Netherlands, based on these criteria.

Two-thirds of all non-Western allochtonen belong to the traditional IM groups of Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans in the Netherlands, although their proportion has been decreasing over time. These four groups clearly emerge as being most strongly represented in Table 1, also in terms of the largest second-generation proportions.

2. Languages other than Dutch (LOTD) at home

In this context, we focus on the 'other' languages of the Netherlands in terms of regional minority (RM) and IM languages (Extra and Gorter 2001, 2008, 5–6). As in other European nation states, RM and IM languages show evidence of old and new language variation in the Netherlands, respectively. The only RM language in the Netherlands with the public and officially acknowledged status of 'language' rather than 'dialect' is Frisian. Figure 1 was taken from de Vries, Willemyns, and Burger (1994, 171) and gives a global impression of the distribution and use of RM languages and dialects in the Netherlands.

RM language/dialect use is primarily manifested in the least urbanised parts of the country. The most urbanised Western part of the country is referred to as the *Randstad*.

Table 1. Population of the Netherlands by origin and generation (×1000) on 1 January 2008 (CBS, population statistics).

Population (×1000) by origin and generation	Total persons	First generation	Second generation
Total population	16,405	–	–
Total autochtonen	13,190	–	–
Total allochtonen	3215	1619	1596
Total allochtonen of Western origin	1450	602	848
EU countries	852	347	505
Indonesia (former Dutch East Indies)	387	124	263
Other	211	131	80
Total allochtonen of non-Western origin	1766	1017	749
Turkey	373	195	178
Morocco	335	167	168
Surinam	336	185	151
Dutch Antilles	132	79	53
China	47	32	15
Iraq	46	36	10
Afghanistan	37	31	6
Iran	30	24	6
Somalia	20	14	6
Other	410	254	156

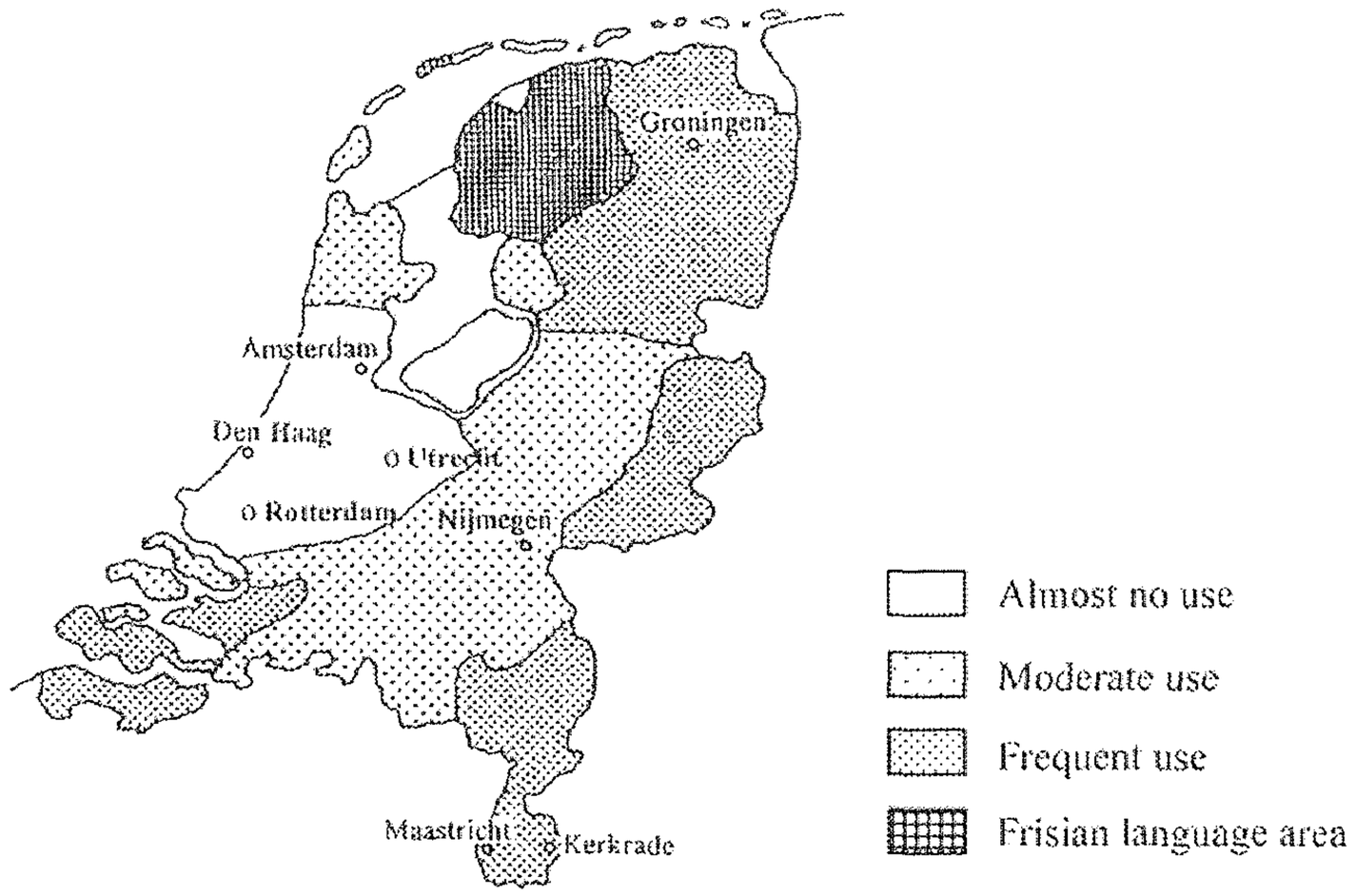

Figure 1. RM language/dialect use across the Netherlands (de Vries, Willemyns, and Burger 1994, 171).

With 6.7 million inhabitants, the Randstad is the sixth largest metropolitan area of Europe. It includes the four largest cities in the country, i.e. Amsterdam (capital), Rotterdam (main port of Europe), The Hague (seat of government) and Utrecht. In this area, in spite of local language variation, for most speakers of Dutch, the concepts of *Hollands* and *Nederlands* coincide (as do the concepts of *Holland* and *Nederland*). However, it is in the same area that IM languages have emerged most strongly as new language varieties. In the four cities mentioned, more than one in three inhabitants was of non-Western origin in 2008.

A major attempt to collect large-scale home language data among primary and secondary school pupils in the Netherlands was made by Extra et al. (2002) in a study conducted between 1997 and 2000. The total sample consists of almost 140,000 pupils. The 13 participating cities were distributed over the entire country. The most striking outcome of the survey was that 32% of the 100,000 primary school children and 28% of the 40,000 secondary school youngsters reported that one or more LOTD or languages next to Dutch were spoken in their homes. (According to Aarts, Extra, and Yagmur 2004, 199), these figures were 49% and 42%, respectively, in the city of The Hague.) A total of 96 languages were reported as home languages in these 13 cities. As in similar previous studies, a small number of languages were reported by large number of informants, while a large number of languages were reported by small number of informants. Figure 2 offers a proportional picture of the 23 most frequently mentioned languages.

The 23 languages (types) mentioned in Figure 2 constitute 96% of all the languages (tokens) reported. Seven languages have a national language status within the European Union, the other languages are predominantly of Asian or African origin.

3. Languages other than Dutch (LOTD) at school

Primary schools in the Netherlands show evidence a stronger monolingual mindset than secondary schools. This can simply be illustrated by school report figures: primary schools

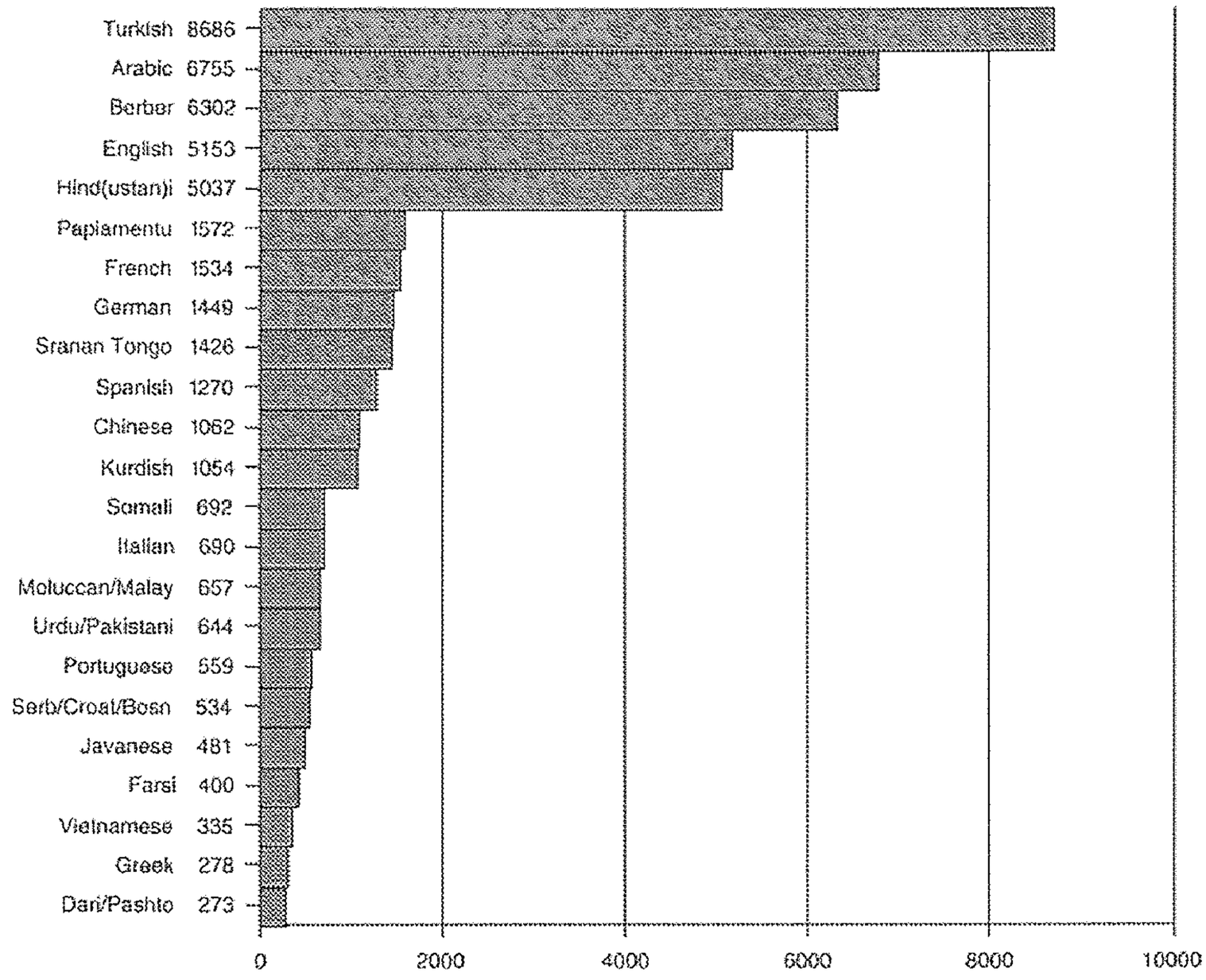

Figure 2. Top 23 most frequently mentioned LOTD (Extra et al. 2002, 54).

report grades for 'language', whereas secondary schools for 'Dutch' along with other languages.

In primary schools, the only language taught nationwide next to Dutch is English. Frisian is paid symbolic lip service in most schools in Friesland. The status of English, however, is on the rise; it is increasingly being taught throughout the primary school curriculum and there is increasing government support for Dutch–English bilingual instruction. After a period of 30 years of heated debate on the value and goals of home language instruction (HLI) for IM children in LOTD, HLI was abolished in primary schools in 2004 and more than 1400 home language teachers were dismissed because HLI was conceived of by government as 'working against integration policies' (Extra and Yagmur 2006). Since then, several initiatives have been taken at the local level to continue HLI in an extracurricular and complementary manner. The Education Council in the Netherlands (Onderwijsraad 2001) presented an advisory report to the Dutch government to initiate the concept of 'municipal language schools' for both majority and minority pupils, but the government ignored this advice. Although there are currently examples of local language schools in the Netherlands, no structural support is given to finance such schools. Most of them are dependent on the voluntary efforts of particular IM groups across the country (e.g. Chinese or Polish language schools), and very few can rely on municipal support.

In secondary education, instruction in LOTD is part of the school curriculum as an optional subject next to English, which is (virtually always) obligatory. Arabic, Spanish and Turkish are possible options instead of French or German, in both vocational and higher-level schools. The same applies to Russian, but only in higher-level schools. Some

languages, such as Chinese, Greek, Hindi, Papiamentu or Portuguese, do not have an official curriculum status. According to legislation, all secondary school students are eligible for instruction in LOTD regardless of their ethnolinguistic background. Turkish and Moroccan students most commonly opt for Turkish and Arabic, respectively. Native Dutch students rarely participate in these lessons, although no accurate data are available on this issue. When offered, Spanish is available to students from different (mostly non-Spanish) backgrounds, and native Dutch-speaking students often participate.

Nationwide enrolment and examination figures are made available yearly by the Ministry of Education. Table 2 gives a longitudinal and nationwide overview of the number of examination candidates for LOTD (except English, French and German) in vocational (*voorbereidend middelbaar beroepsonderwijs* or VMBO) and higher levels (*hoger algemeen voortgezet onderwijs* or HAVO and *voorbereidend wetenschappelijk onderwijs* or VWO) of secondary schools from 2000 to 2008.

As Table 2 shows, nationwide participation is very limited, in terms of both the languages chosen and the examination candidates. Spanish is the most popular language in both vocational and higher-level schools. Over time, some increase in examination candidates can be observed for Arabic and Turkish at HAVO/VWO level. Frisian is taken most commonly as an examination subject by students speaking L1 Frisian, the only officially recognized 'national' minority language in the Netherlands alongside Dutch. At the higher level of schooling, Frisian was taken more frequently in 2006 than Arabic, Turkish or Russian.

Although the previously substantial ministerial budget for promoting LOTD has been severely cut, LOTD remains a legal option in Dutch secondary schools. Despite the increasing number of IM students, however, the offer of LOTD as an optional subject has sharply decreased over time. The current national educational philosophy is firmly based on a monolingual mindset from which only English escapes and IM languages are almost completely excluded. This is even more true for primary than for secondary schools.

4. Language proficiency and socio-cultural orientation of Turkish and Moroccan youngsters in the Netherlands

Most Turkish and Moroccan first-generation immigrants in the Netherlands originate from rural areas of Turkey and Morocco. Most of the parents have very little or no schooling at all and are often unable to provide enough educational support for their children at

Table 2. Longitudinal and nationwide overview of examination candidates for LOTD at vocational (VMBO) and higher levels (HAVO/VWO) of secondary schooling (Ministry of Education).

Languages	School type	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008
Arabic	VMBO	89	87	12	9	70
	HAVO/VWO	9	18	21	31	51
Russian	VMBO	–	–	–	–	–
	HAVO/VWO	83	14	16	34	29
Spanish	VMBO	645	722	437	255	438
	HAVO/VWO	1051	1784	1378	1207	1465
Turkish	VMBO	299	322	66	91	64
	HAVO/VWO	10	24	29	29	57
Frisian	VMBO	n.a.	18	68	27	35
	HAVO/VWO	n.a.	98	59	48	54

Table 3. Meta-analysis of longitudinal national test scores of grade eight pupils (mean score = 50, SD = 10) (Gijsberts and Herweijer 2007).

Test scores of grade eight pupils	Turkish pupils	Moroccan pupils	Native-Dutch low-SES pupils	Native-Dutch high-SES pupils
Proficiency in Dutch				
1988/1989	34.3	34.7	48.7	52.4
1994/1995	36.4	38.8	48.1	53.4
1996/1997	37.6	39.2	48.0	52.8
1998/1999	37.2	40.5	47.6	52.8
2000/2001	38.8	40.8	47.3	52.9
2002/2003	39.3	42.0	47.5	52.6
2004/2005	40.3	42.8	47.1	52.5
Mathematics				
1988/1989	40.7	39.6	48.3	52.3
1994/1995	42.8	42.5	47.7	52.8
1996/1997	44.7	43.2	47.6	52.4
1998/1999	45.1	44.1	47.1	52.2
2000/2001	46.0	44.6	46.8	52.2
2002/2003	45.7	44.7	46.6	51.9
2004/2005	46.1	45.7	46.3	51.8

home. Low skills in Dutch as well as socio-cultural differences between the mainstream school system and home culture act as barriers to parents' involvement in their children's schooling process. Needless to say, similar factors apply to other working-class families as well. Involvement in children's schooling is mostly dependent on the parents' level of education rather than on their ethnicity. Yet, irrespective of innumerable factors involved, it is common to see reports in the media comparing native Dutch pupils to Turkish and Moroccan pupils. In most of these reports, Turkish and Moroccan pupils are grouped together, and findings are generalised for this highly heterogeneous population. In terms of educational achievement, Turkish and Moroccan pupils show lower scores than native Dutch pupils. Over time, however, their achievements in terms of proficiency in Dutch and mathematics at the end of primary schooling (grade eight) have strongly improved. Gijsberts and Herweijer (2007) carried out a meta-analysis of longitudinal national test scores of grade eight pupils, the outcomes of which are presented in Table 3 for Turkish and Moroccan pupils, compared with native-Dutch low- and high-socio-economic-status (SES, in terms of parental education) pupils.

Table 3 shows that between 1988/1989 and 2004/2005, the gap in achievement between Turkish and Moroccan pupils on the one hand and native-Dutch low-SES pupils on the other diminished significantly, whereas the two native-Dutch-speaking groups show similar within-group scores over time.

The Social and Cultural Plan Bureau (SCPB) collects survey data on socio-cultural orientation of IM groups in the Netherlands on yearly basis in the context of the *Survey Integration Minorities* (SIM). The SIM 2006 data have been commented upon by Dagevos and Gijsberts (2007). Dagevos (2009) presents SIM 2006 data for our two focal groups. The total sample was having approximately 1000 persons (first and second generation) per group. Table 4 gives an overview of the most salient outcomes.

Turkish informants have a stronger orientation towards their own community than do Moroccan informants, for all reported dimensions, except for religious practices. Similar outcomes have been reported in other studies. Moreover, cultural self-awareness goes

Table 4. Socio-cultural orientation of Turkish and Moroccan first-second-generation immigrants in the Netherlands (SIM 2006; scores in %).

Socio-cultural orientation	Turkish informants	Moroccan informants
Group orientation		
Own community	58	46
Dutch community	12	14
Both communities	30	40
Leisure time contacts		
Mostly with own community	66	54
Mostly with Dutch community	11	16
Equally with both groups	24	30
Marriage pattern of second generation		
Partner from own community	82	68
Dutch partner	14	21
Other partner	4	12
Attitude towards children's orientation		
No problems with many Dutch friends	78	84
No problems with Dutch partner	40	45
In favour of maintenance of own culture		
Completely	30	26
Not at all	4	6
Religious orientation of second generation		
Affiliation with Islam	93	96
At least weekly visit to mosque	34	28
At least five times prayer per day	13	59
Fasting every day during Ramadan	67	91
Halal food every day	73	86

hand in hand with linguistic self-awareness. Whereas Moroccan youngsters identify more strongly with Islamic practices than do Turkish youngsters, the latter identify more strongly with the Turkish language than Moroccan youngsters do with either Moroccan–Arabic or Berber (Amazigh). A stronger bilingual profile for Turkish youngsters than for Moroccan youngsters was also found in the study done by Extra et al. (2002, 82–7) mentioned earlier. Between the ages of 14 and 17 years, Turkish youngsters reported a stronger preference for their community language in interaction with parents and also stronger literacy skills in this language than Moroccan (either Arabic or Berber) youngsters. Similar differential findings are reported in the cross-national *Multilingual Cities Project* (Extra and Yagmur 2004). To gain a better understanding of this differential pattern in language proficiency and socio-cultural orientation of Turkish and Moroccan youngsters was the primary rationale for carrying out the follow-up study reported below.

5. The present study

The present study examines inter-ethnic language shift patterns of Turkish and Moroccan youngsters in the Netherlands. In order to account for language maintenance or shift observed in ethnic minority groups, various models have been proposed (Bourdieu 1982; Clyne 1991; Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977; Kloss 1966; Smolicz 1981). Researchers identified various factors that are important in language maintenance (or shift). The factors involved are generally divided into two categories: those affecting a speech community at large and those affecting individuals within a speech community (Kipp, Clyne, and Pauwels 1995). Group factors include the size and distribution of an ethnic group, the policy of the

host community towards minority languages, the status of the language within the cultural values system of the group and the proximity or distance between the minority and majority languages. Birthplace, age, period of residence, gender, education/qualifications, marriage patterns, prior knowledge of the majority language, reasons for migration and language variation are considered to be individual factors (Kipp, Clyne, and Pauwels 1995, 123).

Given the general patterns described in the previous sections, the aim of the present study is to examine in more detail the patterns of language use, choice and attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan youngsters in Dutch secondary schools. Within the cultural values systems of Turkish and Moroccan communities, youngsters appear to take different attitudes towards their community languages, i.e. most commonly Turkish in the case of Turkish youngsters and Arabic or Berber in the case of Moroccan youngsters. Turkish appears to be a more solid core value for second-generation Turkish youngsters than Arabic or Berber for second-generation Moroccan youngsters (see Smolicz 1981 for the concept of language as a core value of culture). On the basis of the present study, we want to test the following hypotheses:

(1) Given the outcomes of previous research, Turkish youngsters will have a more balanced bilingualism in Turkish and Dutch, whereas Moroccan youngsters will be more proficient in Dutch than in Arabic or Berber.
(2) Moroccan youngsters will demonstrate a stronger socio-cultural orientation towards the Dutch language and society than Turkish youngsters.
(3) Although the communicative value of Turkish and Arabic/Berber will vary for Turkish and Moroccan youngsters, both groups will attach a high symbolic value to these languages.
(4) Hypotheses one to three will be independent of gender, level of secondary schooling and participation in Turkish/Arabic classes.

In order to test these hypotheses, a Turkish and Moroccan group of informants in the age range of 14 to 18 years was approached for this study. Both male and female students who attend various types of schools (VMBO, literally, lower secondary schooling, and HAVO/VWO, literally, higher secondary/pre-university secondary schooling) were included. There are 127 informants (79 females and 48 males) in total. The level of education is reported to be a relevant variable in language maintenance and shift studies (see Kipp, Clyne, and Pauwels 1995). In order to get a more representative sample, informants from both lower- and higher-level secondary schools were approached. Twenty Turkish and 20 Moroccan informants attend higher-level HAVO/VWO schools, while 42 Turkish and 44 Moroccan youngsters attend lower-level VMBO schools. These proportions are in line with the national figures that most Turkish and Moroccan students attend lower-level secondary schools. The informants' ages range from 14 ($n = 9$) to 18 ($n = 5$); most of them are 15 ($n = 41$), 16 ($n = 44$) and 17 ($n = 28$) years old. While most of the informants were born in the Netherlands, all of their parents were born in the country of ethnic origin. Table 5 gives background characteristics of the informants.

Two questionnaires were used for data collection: a Language Use–Choice–Attitudes (LUCA) questionnaire and Bilingual Self-Rating Scales (BSRS). The LUCA questionnaire was developed as a survey instrument by Yagmur (1997). Questionnaire guidelines by Oppenheim (1992) were followed in the design of the instrument. The survey questionnaire included three sections: first on background characteristics, second on language use–choice and third on language attitudes. With the BSRS, informants rated their bilingual skills in terms of their language ability at four levels (speaking, understanding, reading and writing)

Table 5. Background characteristics of the informants.

	Turkish	Moroccan	Total
Total numbers	63	64	127
Mean age	15.84	15.83	15.8
Gender			
Male	22	26	48 (37.8%)
Female	41	38	79 (62.2%)
School type			
VMBO	42	44	86 (68.3%)
HAVO/VWO	20	20	40 (31.7%)
Receiving instruction in Turkish/Arabic	24	27	51 (40.4%)
Nationality of informants			
Dutch	27	37	64 (50.4%)
Country of ethnic origin	14	16	30 (23.6%)
Dual citizenship	21	9	30 (23.6%)
Birth country of informants			
The Netherlands	48	58	106 (83.5%)
Country of ethnic origin	13	5	18 (14.1%)

on a scale from 1 (cannot do it) to 5 (can easily do it). Language tasks ranged from simple to more complex. The self-rating scales were used earlier with Turkish and Moroccan youngsters in a pilot study (Extra et al. 2002). Data collection took place in a number of secondary schools in Rotterdam, The Hague and Tilburg. Upon receiving the consent of schools' directors, questionnaires were distributed among Turkish or Moroccan students in a number of classrooms.

6. Outcomes of the study

Given the large amount of variables in the study, data reduction was inevitable. Rather than going into details of descriptive statistics and presenting in-group-based results, we present comparative results between the two ethnic groups along relevant dimensions. Before testing our hypotheses, we present the results of Pearson chi-square tests between the Turkish and Moroccan informants on various dimensions of language choice and use.

As seen in Table 6, both groups of informants use their community language in the domestic domain primarily with their parents. However, both groups shift to Dutch just as frequently when speaking to their younger or older siblings in the home context. Outside the home context, Dutch turns out to be the major choice for all informants but the degree of choice between community language and Dutch varies significantly between the groups. In speaking to friends from the same ethnic background in the home context, in the neighbourhood, in the schoolyard or in class, Turkish informants employ their community language more often than Moroccan informants. These findings confirm the commonly held assumption that language shift to Dutch among Moroccan youngsters is much higher than among Turkish youngsters. As seen in Table 7, the results of reported language use are very much in line with the language choice results.

Table 7 shows that Dutch is the most used language for both groups of informants. However, the degree of community language use among Turkish informants is significantly higher compared with Moroccan informants who seem to almost exclusively use Dutch for most purposes. The domain of counting and calculating requires conscious control and people tend to use their most dominant language. Both Turkish and Moroccan informants

Table 6. Reported language choice of informants in different contexts.

Language used mostly with	Language	Ethnicity		Pearson's X^2
		Turkish (n)	Arabic/Berber (n)	
Father	Dutch	12	11	.885
	CL	50	49	
Mother	Dutch	9	11	.387
	CL	50	47	
Older siblings	Dutch	47	52	.366
	CL	9	6	
Younger siblings	Dutch	47	53	.177
	CL	11	6	
T/M friends at home	Dutch	23	52	.000
	CL	33	9	
T/M friends on the street	Dutch	31	50	.002
	CL	25	11	
T/M friends in the schoolyard	Dutch	28	58	.000
	CL	31	3	
T/M friends in class	Dutch	43	56	.000
	CL	17	2	
T/M people on the street	Dutch	14	35	.000
	CL	44	27	
T/M people in the shop	Dutch	26	43	.003
	CL	35	19	
T/M people at community centre	Dutch	13	34	.000
	CL	48	23	
T/M people in the mosque	Dutch	3	10	.046
	CL	55	50	
T/M people on the telephone	Dutch	13	24	.025
	CL	47	35	

Note: CL, community language; T/M, Turkish/Moroccan.

prefer to use Dutch in counting and calculating, which is in line with previous findings that the language of schooling is typically the preferred language for mental calculation (Dewaele 2007). There is a significant difference between the two groups in terms of dreaming as Turkish youngsters report more use of Turkish. In the same vein, in terms of media use, Turkish youngsters tend to opt more for Turkish TV and radio shows, while Moroccan youngsters have a strong preference for Dutch media. It is interesting to note that in chatting with friends from the same ethnic background on the internet, none of the Moroccan informants choose the community language, while both Turkish and Dutch are used by Turkish informants. The results presented in Table 7 are very much in line with related research findings (Dagevos 2009).

With respect to reported use of the community language and Dutch as well as the language of choice, Turkish youngsters appear to use their community language significantly more often than the Moroccan group. However, as is known from the literature, behaviour and attitudes do not necessarily coincide. As seen in Table 8, both Moroccan and Turkish informants report more positive attitudes towards their community languages than towards Dutch. Moroccan informants' emotional attachment to their community language is equally high but their actual language use and choice point towards Dutch. For Turkish youngsters, there is more coherence between language attitudes and reported language use and choice.

Table 7. Reported language use of informants for different purposes.

Language used in	Language	Ethnicity		Pearson's X^2
		Turkish (n)	Arabic/Berber (n)	
Thinking	Dutch	37	53	.004
	CL	23	10	
Dreaming	Dutch	24	51	.000
	CL	34	9	
Counting/calculating	Dutch	56	59	.692
	CL	5	4	
Reading books	Dutch	57	59	.967
	CL	3	3	
Reading newspapers	Dutch	57	63	.021
	CL	5	0	
Reading magazines	Dutch	53	63	.001
	CL	10	0	
Watching TV shows	Dutch	19	48	.000
	CL	40	10	
Listening to radio shows	Dutch	29	57	.000
	CL	31	4	
Writing letters in the NL	Dutch	47	62	.001
	CL	12	1	
Chatting with friends in the NL	Dutch	38	63	.000
	CL	21	0	

Note: CL, community language; NL, the Netherlands.

The results presented in Table 9 are very much in line with the results of Table 8 in that both Turkish and Moroccan informants report high degrees of attachment to their community cultures. Both groups report an equally strong socio-cultural orientation towards their ethnic group. They all consider ethnic community norms and values more important

Table 8. Language attitudes of informants towards Dutch and community languages.

Dutch/CL sounds	Language	Ethnicity		Pearson's X^2
		Turkish (n)	Arabic/Berber (n)	
Nicer	Dutch	17	11	.296
	CL	46	47	
Friendlier	Dutch	20	11	.180
	CL	43	47	
More distinguished	Dutch	25	20	.508
	CL	38	39	
More decent	Dutch	21	19	.894
	CL	42	40	
More pleasant	Dutch	14	10	.464
	CL	49	49	
Smarter	Dutch	25	20	.604
	CL	38	37	
Politer	Dutch	25	18	.335
	CL	36	39	
More modern	Dutch	25	24	.849
	CL	38	34	

Note: CL, community language.

Table 9. Socio-cultural orientation of informants.

Statement	Group	Ethnicity		Pearson's X^2
		Turkish (n)	Arabic/Berber (n)	
I identify predominantly with	Dutch	9	10	.709
	EG	51	47	
I find . . . norms and values the most important	Dutch	16	16	.593
	EG	45	36	
I prefer to go to a . . . shop	Dutch	28	31	.643
	EG	29	27	
I prefer to go to a . . . community centre	Dutch	15	14	.954
	EG	46	44	
I prefer to take my holidays in . . .	NL	3	3	.984
	CEO	59	58	
I prefer to live in . . .	NL	25	32	.177
	CEO	37	29	
In an international football competition, I would prefer . . . to win	NL	11	8	.554
	CEO	51	50	
I would rather want to learn more about	NL	18	11	.148
	CEO	41	47	
I would prefer to learn more about the history of	NL	13	8	.246
	CEO	47	51	
I would prefer to learn more about the culture of	NL	19	18	.989
	CEO	42	40	
I find songs from . . . the most beautiful	NL	4	7	.274
	CEO	59	51	
I find food from . . . the most delicious	NL	1	6	.049
	CEO	61	55	
I feel primarily	Turkish	21	–	.000
	Moroccan	–	16	
	Dutch	4	4	
	Tur/Dutch	35	–	
	Mor/Dutch	–	35	

Note: EG, ethnic group; NL, the Netherlands; CEO, country of ethnic origin.

than Dutch norms and are more connected to their community culture. It is interesting to note that in an international football tournament, both groups of informants report that they would support their country of origin. In the same vein, both groups of informants want to learn more about the history and culture of their country of origin and prefer to take their holidays in Turkey or Morocco. In terms of socio-cultural orientation, the only difference between Turkish and Moroccan informants is the degree of self-identification. While the majority of informants from both groups identify themselves as Turkish–Dutch or Moroccan–Dutch, the number of informants who identify themselves as 'Turkish only' is significantly higher than the 'Moroccan only' identifications. The results presented in Tables 8 and 9 clearly show that at a deeper level, both Moroccan and Turkish informants are oriented towards their community cultures. Moroccan informants apparently consider their community culture as an important dimension of their ethnic identity; however, their community language does not seem to be a core value for this group. For the Turkish group,

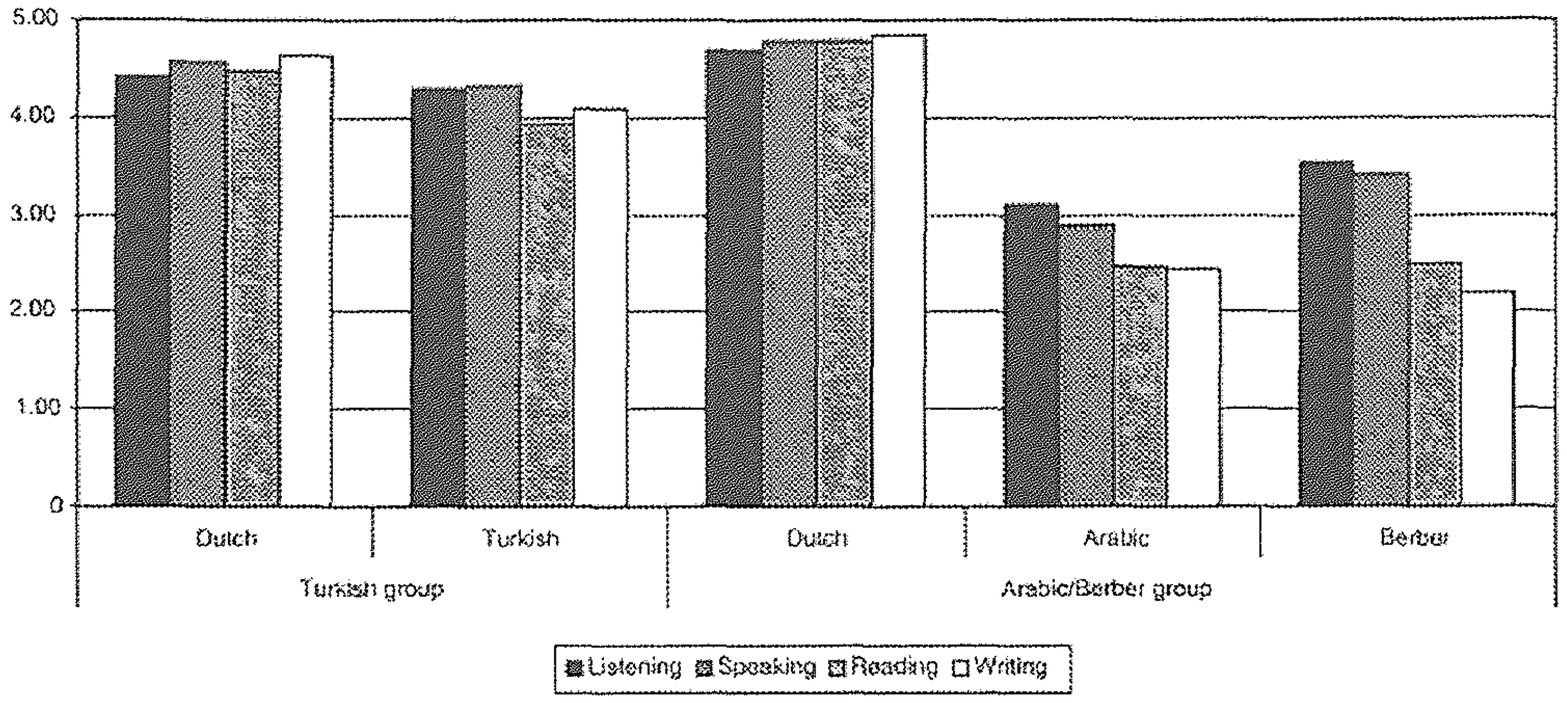

Figure 3. Reported bilingual skills of Turkish and Moroccan informants (from left to right in each histogram: listening, speaking, reading and writing skills).

on the other hand, both the community language and community culture turn out to be core values.

Because there are large numbers of variables (20) in the bilingual language rating scales, instead of presenting descriptive statistics for each variable, we calculated the average scores for each of the four rated skills both for the Turkish and Moroccan informants. As seen in Figure 3, the results of the bilingual self-rating scales are in line with the results of the LUCA questionnaire. The Turkish informants report a more balanced degree of bilingualism than the Moroccan informants.

The Moroccan informants' reported Dutch language skills are slightly higher than the Turkish informants' Dutch language skills but their community language skills are significantly lower than the reported community language skills of Turkish informants. The results presented in Figure 3 are very much in line with the informants' reported language use and choice as presented in Tables 6 and 7.

7. Testing the hypotheses

On the basis of the results presented above, it is possible to test our hypotheses presented in Section 5. In the first hypothesis it was claimed that Turkish youngsters would have a more balanced bilingualism in Turkish and Dutch, whereas Moroccan youngsters would be more proficient in Dutch than in Arabic or Berber. The first hypothesis was formulated on the basis of previous research evidence and the presented findings are very much in line with this previous evidence. As seen in Figure 3, Turkish youngsters report a much more balanced bilingualism in Turkish and Dutch, whereas Moroccan youngsters' Dutch skills are much higher than their proficiency in Arabic or Berber. As shown by the results of Pearson's X^2 tests in Tables 6 and 7, the language use and choice results are also in line with the language proficiency ratings of the informants.

Because Moroccan youngsters shift more commonly to Dutch, the second hypothesis asserted that Moroccan youngsters would demonstrate a stronger socio-cultural orientation towards the Dutch language and society than Turkish youngsters. On the basis of the results presented in Tables 8 and 9, our second hypothesis cannot be confirmed because the socio-cultural orientation of Moroccan youngsters shows as much in-group orientation as the Turkish youngsters. No significant differences are observed between Turkish and Moroccan

youngsters in terms of their feelings of group belonging. Both groups report high degrees of cultural attachment to their community. This outcome confirms previous research findings that reported language use and attitudes do not always converge. Apparently, languages may be the valued aspects of group identity even if they are not being spoken by most group members at a desired level (Lawson and Sachdev 2004). Moroccan youngsters value their community language and report a high socio-cultural orientation towards their ethnic origin, but they use Dutch and prefer it to Arabic or Berber.

In connection with the second hypothesis, the third hypothesis claimed that even if the communicative value of Turkish and Arabic/Berber varied for Turkish and Moroccan youngsters, both groups would attach a high symbolic value to their community languages. As seen from the results presented in Tables 8 and 9, both groups show highly positive attitudes towards their socio-cultural backgrounds irrespective of the proficiency levels in their community languages.

In the fourth hypothesis, it was claimed that hypotheses one to three would be independent of gender, level of secondary schooling and participation in Turkish/Arabic classes. The last hypothesis has been partly confirmed. While there are no differences in reported language proficiency within the Turkish group with respect to gender and level of schooling, there are significant differences regarding participation in language classes. Those students who took part in Turkish classes are significantly better at Turkish than the students who did not take part in Turkish lessons. *T*-tests were run to see the effect of gender, type of school attended and participation in language classes on reported Turkish, Arabic and Berber language proficiency. In terms of gender, there are no significant differences among the Turkish informants with respect to listening $T\ (62) = .003$, $p = .957$; speaking $T\ (62) = 1.826$, $p = .182$; reading $T\ (62) = 2.968$, $p = 0.90$; and writing $T\ (62) = 2.118$, $p = .151$. In the same vein, the type of school attended does not make much difference on Turkish language proficiency of Turkish youngsters: listening $T\ (61) = .112$, $p = .139$; speaking $T\ (61) = 0.31$, $p = .860$; reading $T\ (61) = 1.515$, $p = .213$; and writing $T\ (61) = .368$, $p = .546$. Attending Turkish classes seems to make a difference on language proficiency of Turkish youngsters in terms of reading ($T\ (61) = 4.394$, $p = .040$) but in terms of other skills, the differences are not significant (listening $T\ (61) = .353$, $p = .554$; speaking $T\ (61) = 0.54$, $p = .817$; and writing $T\ (61) = 2.039$, $p = .159$).

Similar results are obtained from the Moroccan group. There are no significant differences in language proficiency of the Berber and Arabic groups in terms of reported listening, speaking, reading and writing skills. The only differences are observed in terms of gender. Female youngsters report writing significantly better in Berber $T\ (63) = 7.070$ $p = .010$ and reading better in Berber $T\ (63) = 7.858$ $p = .007$ than male youngsters. The type of school attended or instruction received in the language does not show any significant effects.

Concerning socio-cultural orientation of the informants, significant in-group differences are observed in terms of gender, type of school attended and participation in language classes, especially among Turkish informants. While gender ($T\ (50) = 12.896$, $p = .001$) and participation in Turkish classes ($T\ (50) = 7.235$, $p = .010$) have significant effects on socio-cultural orientation towards their own community, the type of school attended does not make any difference ($T\ (49) = 3.971$, $p = .410$). On the other hand, with respect to socio-cultural orientation, only in terms of gender ($T\ (47) = 3.298$, $p = .076$) there is a slight difference between males and females in the Moroccan group. Types of school attended or participation in language classes does not make any difference. Once more these results show that females value their linguistic and cultural heritage more than males do.

8. Conclusions and discussion

The findings of this study show that pride in one's socio-cultural and linguistic backgrounds is not coupled with maintenance of the community language. Arabic and Berber informants report high attachment to their socio-cultural backgrounds but their actual community language use is very restricted compared with their Dutch language use. Second-generation Moroccan youngsters clearly shift to Dutch in most domains of language use. Turkish youngsters, on the other hand, show strong language maintenance patterns and their socio-cultural orientation is congruent with their language behaviour. Apparently, the Turkish language is a core value for these youngsters, which contributes to language maintenance. For the Turkish group, the beliefs and attitudes turn out to be important in community language maintenance; however, such an effect is not observed for Moroccan youngsters.

Another intriguing difference concerns the religious affiliation of Turkish and Moroccan informants. While Moroccan youngsters identify more strongly with Islamic practices, Turkish youngsters identify strongly with the Turkish language. This in turn suggests that strong religious attachment does not affect community language maintenance, but a strong identification with the community language does contribute to language maintenance. Apparently, for Turkish youngsters, cultural self-awareness goes hand in hand with linguistic self-awareness. Because they consider language to be a core value of their cultural identity, they choose to use Turkish in different domains, which in a way confirms Smolicz's (1981) core values theory and Baker's (1992) findings.

Even though Turkish and Moroccan youngsters are often grouped in the same category in the Dutch public and academic discourse, there are large differences with respect to their language maintenance patterns. Moroccan youngsters report being much more proficient in Dutch than in Arabic or Berber and they are more oriented towards the Dutch language and culture. Turkish informants, on the other hand, have a more balanced orientation towards their community culture and the mainstream Dutch culture. Apparently, the integration ideology of the receiving society has varying effects on the two groups. Even though Dutch policy urges immigrant minority groups to use Dutch in all public domains, Turkish youngsters seem to be less affected by such Dutch-only policies because they consider Turkish to be a core value of their cultural identity. Religious identification turns out to be a more important core value for Moroccan youngsters.

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